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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 24 August 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia)

- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations [114] (continued)
- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: fifth report of the General Committee [8] (continued)
- The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina [150]

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The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 114 (continued)

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/46/868/Add.3)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/46/868/Add.3, which contains the text of a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that, since the issuance of his communications dated 4 February, 13 April and 18 June 1992, Guatemala and Mauritania have made the necessary payments to reduce their arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK: FIFTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/46/250/Add.4)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The fifth report of the General Committee (A/46/250/Add.4) concerns the request by Turkey for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional item entitled "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina".

The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item should be included in the agenda.

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include in its agenda the additional item entitled "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina"?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The General Committee also decided to recommend to the Assembly that the item should be considered directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): May I also take it that, as requested by several Member States, the item should be given priority for immediate consideration by the Assembly because of its urgent character?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): The Assembly will thus proceed immediately to consider the item.

I should like to inform members that this new item becomes item 150 of the agenda of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, and that the documents reflecting its inclusion and allocation will be issued tomorrow, 25 August 1992.

AGENDA ITEM 150

THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed this afternoon at 4 p.m. If I hear no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list as soon as possible.

(The President)

Before calling on the first speaker, I wish to express great concern at the gravity of the humanitarian and legal situation of a State Member of the United Nations; the national unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that State, along with its people and very body politic, are facing grave danger. Here the United Nations bears a weighty responsibility under the Charter and its other legal and moral obligations.

I therefore hope that the General Assembly will, as it has always done, meet the challenge by taking a firm position on ensuring the sovereignty and independence of that State. I hope these meetings will mark a turning-point in the tragedy that is now taking place on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Before the Secretary-General departed for London, he asked me to convey his apologies for not being with us this morning owing to his travel in connection with the special conference on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He also communicated a message to the General Assembly, and I call upon the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. Benon Sevan, to read out the Secretary-General's message.

Mr. SEVAN: The message of the Secretary-General reads as follows:

"I welcome the initiative to convene this resumed session of the General Assembly on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Your deliberations will help underline the grave concern of the international community about the continuing bloodshed and the violations of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the need for an urgent peaceful solution in conformity with the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Sevan)

"I very much regret that I am unable to be with you today. As you are aware, I had to leave for London this morning to co-chair, together with Prime Minister Major in his capacity as President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, the international conference on the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is my hope that the London conference will provide new impetus to the efforts to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the crisis in all its aspects.

"Your deliberations today and the resolution to be adopted will no doubt be an important contribution to the success of the London conference and to the resolution of the Yugoslave problem."

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): Turkey has been following the unfolding drama of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the deepest anguish. We have been shocked by the brazen violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have been horrified by the suffering inflicted on the inhabitants of this tortured land, which until last year was a model of tolerance and peaceful coexistence among its various ethnic groups. Because of our long association with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the strong affinity we have for its people, the misery of the Bosnians has had a particularly strong impact on Turkish public opinion.

For many months, Turkey has been providing help and encouragement to relieve the suffering of the victims of a cruel war. But we have been conscious of the fact that the efforts of individual countries will never suffice in a calamity of these proportions.

Hence our efforts to have international organizations intervene in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the purpose of stopping the fighting and finding a peaceful solution to the conflict. Among these efforts, I should like to cite the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers, which was convened by Turkey on 17 and 18 June to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The comprehensive resolution adopted by the ministers at that meeting in Istanbul demonstrated the resolve of the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) to take effective international action to bring the carnage in Bosnia and Herzegovina to an early end.

Following on this, the 47 member countries of the OIC decided to seek a special session of the General Assembly to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This decision was taken in the belief that the threat to

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

international legality posed by the continuing aggression against a State Member of the United Nations and the horrors being inflicted on its inhabitants were such that the question should be considered by the total membership of the United Nations and that a powerful message must be sent to those responsible for this state of affairs that the international community will not tolerate this situation much longer.

As a consequence, an appeal was launched last week to secure the requisite number of countries to join in the request for a special session of the General Assembly. However, because of the approaching international conference on the former Yugoslavia in London and the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Jakarta, it was felt that it would be better to convene the General Assembly right away rather than wait for the 10 days to elapse before a special session could be held under the rules of procedure.

Consequently, my delegation, acting on behalf of the members of the contact group of the OIC consisting of Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey, requested the inclusion of a new item in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. I want to avail myself of this opportunity to express our great appreciation to all those countries that supported our appeal for a special session, and also to the members of the General Committee for unanimously agreeing to the insertion of a new item in the agenda, thus making this meeting possible.

The debate that we shall be holding under this item should send a clear message to those responsible for the mayhem in Bosnia and Herzegovina that the patience of the international community is at an end and that further violence and defiance of international norms will not be allowed.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The contact group of the OIC has prepared a draft resolution, which has been the subject of intensive consultations over the weekend with the various geographical groups. This draft resolution is contained in document A/46/L.76.

Delegations will note that its text has been drafted in a non-confrontational tone. It is designed to stop the fighting and reassert the principles of international law. It demands respect for the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It gives support to the actions already taken in the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations. The whole thrust of the draft resolution is to encourage and facilitate the finding of a peaceful solution to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It gives support and encouragement to the terrorized inhabitants and seeks redress for the gross violations of humanitarian law. The draft resolution also seeks to alleviate the plight of the victims of "ethnic cleansing". Finally - and we think this is very important - the draft resolution identifies those who must bear the main responsibility for the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina and reaffirms the principle that territory cannot be acquired nor borders changed by the use of force.

At this time, the following countries are sponsoring the draft resolution: Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Comoros, Egypt, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Malaysia, Oman, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Tunisia and Turkey. My delegation urges other countries to join the list of sponsors. Our objective is to have this draft resolution adopted by consensus or by an overwhelming majority.

Today, the credibility of the United Nations is being tested. We must make sure that the principles of the Charter and the tenets of international law are respected by every State. We must make sure that what is happening in Bosnia and Herzegovina will stop and that it will never be repeated anywhere.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

We must not blur our message. We must not fail this test. At this fateful hour, we must act decisively for the sake of the Bosnians and for the sake of the United Nations. Failure to act would be appeasement, and we all know where that leads.

Mr. ZARIF (Islamic Republic of Iran): Allow me at the outset to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the prompt consideration of the request of a number of delegations, including my own, to convene a resumed session of the General Assembly in order to consider urgently the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I am confident that under your able and dedicated leadership, the General Assembly will be able to deal effectively and promptly with this pressing issue.

The issue before the General Assembly today is one that has shocked the conscience of every human being, irrespective of national origin, ethnic background, religion or political persuasion. In fact, the systematic crimes committed so barbarically against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are reminiscent of shameful events in history, the recurrence of which humanity has tried so hard to prevent.

The horrendous war against the non-Serb population in the former Yugoslavia has raged for more than a year. Serb ultra-nationalists have conducted a systematic campaign of genocide against the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the full support and backing of the Yugoslav People's Army. Recent mass media reports have further uncovered massive, systematic and widespread violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, including indiscrimate attacks on and murder of non-combatants, mass forcible expulsion, displacement and deportation of civilians, imprisonment and abuse of civilians in illegal detention centres,

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

torture, rape, the impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies to the civilian population, and wanton destruction and devastation of property. Driven by the abhorrent policy of "ethnic cleansing" - in itself a criminal notion and practice that has no place in the final decade of the twentieth century - the culprits have committed these atrocities to displace forcibly the innocent non-Serb population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and face with a fait accompli the international community and the discussions that are to take place.

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

According to the Secretary-General, in his report of 12 May 1992 to the Security Council:

> "All international observers agree that what is happening is a concerted effort by the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the acquiescence of, and at least some support from, JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], to create 'ethnically pure' regions in the context of negotiations on the 'cantonization' of the Republic in the EC [Economic Community] Conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina ...". (S/23900, para.5)

In fact, this is not an ethnic war but a full-scale and brutal war of aggression, fueled by the notion of Greater Serbia and premeditated, organized and centrally planned, against the disarmed and peaceful Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the available evidence points in that direction.

For nearly a year the world has been watching the increasing deterioration of the situation of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the increasing widening of the scope of the atrocities being committed against them. Indeed, we have all been witnessing a campaign against a people whose sovereignty, territorial integrity, national unity and, indeed, identity have been and continue to be at great risk.

During this crisis, which contitutes a threat to international peace and security and presents alarming prospects of further widening, the Security Council has regrettably failed to address the cause of this human tragedy and has simply dealt with the effects - and even there it has faced Serbia intransigence. The Serb ultra-nationalists, supported by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and paramilitary units from Serbia and Montenegro,

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

continue to kill, torture, expel, and grab more land. By now the aggressors have achieved most of their goals: they have uprooted more than 2 million innocent people from their homes and towns and have "ethnically cleansed", so to speak, predetermined areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and they now control more than 70 per cent of the entire territory.

We had all hoped that recent history and particularly what had happened in our region would have proved that the policy of appeasement is doomed to failure and leads only to further and greater disasters. We had hoped that with the changes in the international atmosphere aggression would not be tolerated and, most importantly, the aggressor and the victim of aggression would not be dealt with on an equal footing.

What is known to the international community - that is, the existence of aggression and a campaign of elimination - should long since have been recognized and acted upon by the General Assembly and, more importantly, by the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility under the Charter for dealing with these issues. My delegation welcomes all attempts to bring about a peaceful solution to this tragedy and restore the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also recognize that the invoking of Article 42 of the Charter is not the panacea for every regional conflict that may endanger international peace and security. However, the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has reached such enormous, indeed catastrophic, proportions that, combined with the actual positioning of the Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, all other options but a genuine,

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

concrete and firm decision by the Security Council in accordance with Article 42 of the Charter of the United Nations, may already have been rendered ineffective.

Should the Security Council decide otherwise, we believe that the least it can do is to recognize the fact that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the innocent and disarmed victim of foreign aggression, is entitled to exercise its inherent right of self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. But how can the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, ironically, has become the target of an arms embargo originally designed against former Yugoslavia, defend itself against one of the largest armies in Europe? My delegation recognizes the wisdom of Security Council resolutions 713 (1991) and 724 (1991), by which the arms embargo is enforced against the entire former Yugoslavia. In our view, and in the view of a large number of States, the circumstances have changed drastically. The arms embargo has had an effect totally opposite to its intended goal. It has helped the aggressors to have even more of an upper hand vis-à-vis the victim, for the aggressors did not need to import weapons. We also recognize the dilemma involved in allowing the export of weapons to Bosnia and Herzegovina. But, in our view, the aggressors have left the international community with no other option. As a State Member of the United Nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina is entitled to be empowered, both legally and practically, to exercise its inherent right of self-defence.

The General Assembly, which is meeting at this crucial stage, should send a strong signal that the international community will not stand quietly by as it witnesses the attempt at the total annihilation of a Member State by a

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

powerful neighbour. As the only truly representative organ of the United Nations, the General Assembly should not only condemn the aggression and the atrocities being committed against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also take measures to remedy the situation. The General Assembly, in our view, should: first, and most importantly, urge the Security Council to take all necessary measures, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to put an end to the fighting and restore the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; second, reaffirm its support for the Government and people of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in their exercise of their inherent right of self-defence; third, demand that all forms of interference, particularly by the Yugoslav People's Army and paramilitary units, cease forthwith and that these units be withdrawn immediately; fourth, demand that an immediate end be put to the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing", which constitutes a serious and grave breach of international humanitarian law, and that necessary steps be taken to stop the massive and forcible displacement of population; fifth, call for non-recognition of the consequences of the acquisition of territory by force and the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing"; and, sixth, demand the safe, unconditional and honourable repatriation of the refugees and deportees to their homes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, insist on their right to receive reparation for their losses, and call for concerted international efforts to facilitate the return and rehabilitation of the displaced people. The draft resolution in document A/46/L.76 addresses some of these points, and my delegation has the honour to be one of its sponsors.

(Mr. Zarif, Islamic Republic of Iran)

Before concluding, I should like to emphasize that a large number of Member States, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, have on previous occasions voiced strong objection to the succession of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by Serbia and Montenegro. We believe that the United Nations, through appropriate mechansisms, should deal with this issue and send a strong signal to the Belgrade authorities that in order to become a Member of the United Nations they will be subject to the same standards as any applicant for membership and will have to act accordingly.

Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): I wish at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for your wise guidance of the General Assembly's work and the effective and constructive efforts you have been making to reinforce the General Assembly's role, in accordance with the Charter.

I wish also to thank all the Member States that have responded to the request made by Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Egypt for inclusion in the agenda of this item on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

The General Assembly today begins a debate over the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, over a political problem that is clearly of sufficient magnitude to jeopardize international peace and security in a sensitive area that has always played a crucial role in the history of modern Europe. In dealing with this issue, the General Assembly is reaffirming the principles and the purposes laid down by the Charter on the central role and responsiblity of the United Nations in establishing the rules of international legitimacy and in ensuring their application throughout the world on an equitable basis, without distinction between small and large States.

At a time when the international community seeks to build a new world order based on the Charter of the United Nations, on the principles that lend importance to human rights and the dignity of the human person on the scale of international priorities - and this has priority - we see obsolete ethnic claims embodied in such practices as "ethnic cleansing", through a host of oppressive measures against the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the Muslims, with the intention of driving them away from their territories and changing the demographic composition of the indigenous peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The idea of "ethnic cleansing" is a stigma on our modern world, now on the threshold of the twenty-first century. The international community has to confront it with all the means at its disposal, in keeping with the conventions and norms of the international community, as follows: first, an immediate cessation of all the measures taken against the civilian populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as expulsions, displacements, detentions and torture as well as coercing them to change their identity; secondly, putting

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

on trial those responsible for violations of human rights in Yugoslavia as a result of "ethnic cleansing"; thirdly, guaranteeing the rights of those refugees and displaced persons who have been forced to leave their homes because of these oppressive measures - they should be repatriated to the regions from which they were expelled; fourthly, compensation for property damage by the authorities responsible for those oppressive measures of those refugees and displaced persons who have lost their homes; and fifthly, those responsible for crimes committed as a result of ethnic cleansing to be brought before the relevant international court, since this is a crime against humanity.

A comprehensive political settlement of the crisis obtaining in the area of the former Yugoslavia is necessary. However, the real guarantee for a just, comprehensive and lasting political solution lies in dealing with the real reasons for the problem and not dealing only with current developments of the conflict in the area. It is now clear to the international community that the tragic developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina are in essence the result of the flagrant military aggression of the Yugoslavian Federal Army against the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My delegation wishes to remind the international community, through the General Assembly today, that in confronting the problem in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have to proceed from the central role and the basic responsibility of the United Nations, and be guided by the principles and purposes of its Charter.

Thus we should focus on the following: First, the immediate cessation of the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina is necessary. Secondly, the inviolability of the integrity and political independence of Bosnia and

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Herzegovina should be respected. Thirdly, the international community should observe all the provisions of the Charter and act to remove all military aggression aimed directly and indirectly against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Fourthly, the rights of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent State should be recognized, and as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations, it has the right to defend itself in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter.

The principles of international legitimacy should be applied in all regions and for all countries on an equal basis. Undoubtedly respecting the rules of international legitimacy requires the United Nations to implement all the measures at its disposal, as contained in the Charter, to force the aggressor to stop his aggression and restore all rights. Those States that display intransigence and prevaricate in implementing Security Council resolutions should be made to implement all their provisions.

The delegation of Egypt wishes to commend the international efforts that have been made in order to confront the tragic human situation affecting the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this connection I wish, on behalf of the Egyptian Government, to thank the Secretary-General and all personnel in the United Nations Protection Force, as well as all those behind the scene who work courageously in the various organs of the United Nations, confronting successive dangers, especially the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and other relief organizations.

As part of these international efforts, Egypt is providing the help needed and has responded to the international call made through the United Nations to send military forces to secure the airport at Sarajevo to ensure delivery of humanitarian assistance. Under the auspices of the United

(Mr. Elaraby, Egypt)

Nations, it has provided some of its elite military troops, observers and police forces in order to maintain peace in Sarajevo. In the meantime, my Government continues to provide emergency assistance, such as relief supplies, medicine, vaccinations and medical supplies, through the appropriate organs of the United Nations, to help the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in addition to the food and other relief supplies that were provided under the auspices of United Nations organs.

In taking a decision on the draft resolution contained in document A/46/L.76, of which we are a sponsor, the General Assembly will be helping to uphold international legitimacy. There is no doubt that this will be a positive contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security. My delegation calls on Member States to reaffirm their solidarity for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and their commitment to the principles of justice, equity and respect for international humanitarian law by adopting this draft resolution unanimously.

Mr. SY (Senegal) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Senegal has already had many occasions to express to you, Mr. President, our satisfaction and pride for the skill and effectiveness with which you have been guiding the proceedings of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

To this we would add today our profound gratitude that, in a remarkably short period of time, at the initiative of the Islamic Group, we have been allowed to include an additional item on the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina", which we are now taking up.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

My sincere thanks also go to the many delegations which, in giving their complete support to this initiative, have once again shown their firm determination resolutely to support any action aimed at putting an end to the atrocities and hardships inflicted so unfairly on the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Our thanks also go to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the remarkable and responsible manner in which he has been discharging his functions and managing all the current crises, in particular the ongoing nightmare of the people of Bosnia. We cannot forget either the United Nations Protection Force or the staff of the international humanitarian organizations, who are continually paying with their lives or their blood the heavy price of their mission in the service of humanity.

As we pay this tribute, the delegation of Senegal bows to the memory of those who have fallen in the course of this mission, and extends its heartfelt condolences to the Governments of their countries and to the members of their families. I hope that, thanks to our decisions and future actions, their sacrifice will not have been in vain.

Our Organization is at present faced with a serious situation in which the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of one of its Member States, Bosnia and Herzegovina, are seriously threatened in flagrant violation of international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. The populations of that country - particularly the Muslims - have in fact been the victims of grave violations of international humanitarian law that include mass killings and "ethnic cleansing", as well as massive forced expulsions from their territory, the pillage of their goods, degrading treatment and arbitary detentions in conditions that fly in the face of all human morality.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

Even the most pessimistic among us could never have imagined that the international community should one day be confronted with such a dark and sinister picture of misery, violence and insecurity, and especially not in the twenty-first century, when the world, free of the cold war, has precisely the requisite ingredients for a new world order based on a spirit of cooperation and solidarity. It should be added that, at the very moment when it has regained its credibility and the trust of all its Member States, our Organization can no longer disappoint the legitimate and well-founded hopes which peoples in search of freedom, peace and security have placed in it.

In that spirit, and in his twofold capacity as President of Senegal and President of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf, on 29 April 1992, placed the matter before the Security Council and invited it to take any action necessary fully to guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that the people there can live in serene unity, dignity, and security.

President Abdou Diouf has regularly repeated this appeal, such as in his statement published on 28 July 1992, as an official document (A/47/350) of the United Nations. On that occasion, he once again drew the attention of the international community to the deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the former Yugoslavia, he reminded us of the actions and initiatives taken by the OIC and gave his support to the British proposal to convene an international conference on the question. The Security Council responded to this appeal by adopting some 15 resolutions, but the fact remains that those resolutions have not yet produced the expected results, since the suffering and atrocities inflicted on the Bosnian populations -

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

particularly on the Muslim community - have continued to increase in number and severity.

This concerns us because this body, as guarantor of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations, in other circumstances fairly recently had begun to accustom us to more effective, concrete and vigorous action. Having come this far, has it lost its staying power? This is our major concern, which, in more eloquent terms, speakers that have gone before me - in particular the Permanent Representative of Turkey, Mr. Mustafa Aksin, speaking on behalf of his country and of the President of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers - have described with a skill and clarity that they alone possess. On behalf of the delegation of Senegal, I would like to give our complete support to the comments that they made and endorse all their remarks, proposals and observations.

I am also pleased to reaffirm here the solidarity of the Senegalese people with the friendly and fraternal people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the intention of His Excellency Mr. Abdou Diouf to spare no effort in ensuring that the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country are fully respected and the security of the people fully assured, as is required by the principles of the United Nations Charter. In this respect, the Senegalese delegation welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to participate at the forthcoming conference in London and hopes that it will mark a decisive turning-point in the search for a satisfactory solution to this painful problem.

In about a month, winter will begin to descend on the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the people, haunted by the spectre of famine and death, have neither shelter, food, medicine, electricity, nor drinking water. These

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

are all basic needs without which human beings cannot survive the climatic rigours of the winter season in that region. If concrete and appropriate measures are not immediately taken to deal with the disturbing images brought daily into our homes by television, disturbing our individual and collective conscience and arousing our deep indignation, then there will be even more poignant and intolerable images to come.

Do we really have the right to refuse that help to these men, women and children whose lives are direly threatened? Can we allow the territorial integrity of a State Member of our Organization to be violated with impunity with the aim of preventing that State from exercising its independence and national sovereignty? Can we tolerate that people are being torn from their lands, women separated from their husbands and children deprived of their family environment? Can we allow the demographic composition of a sovereign and independent State - a Member of the United Nations - to be modified by force and the heinous methods of "ethnic cleansing"?

Certainly not. The relevant provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, particularly Articles 39 and those that follow it, are there to remind us of what we must do whenever international peace and security are seriously threatened and whenever the rules of international behaviour are arrogantly flouted.

Similarly, Article 51 of the Charter requires not only that we guarantee the natural right to the individual or collective self-defence of any Member State subjected to armed aggression, but also that the Security Council take whatever measures are necessary to restore and maintain peace, order and security. Of course, this entails risks and poses serious political and legal problems, but the United Nations Charter, which all our countries have freely signed, requires that we use the means of intervention for which it provides.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

I conclude this statement by expressing the hope that our work will be crowned with success through the adoption by consensus of draft resolution A/46/L.76 - which it is Senegal's honour and pleasure to co-sponsor. In this way, we will be meeting two challenges: that of proving our determination to eliminate any threat to international peace and security, and that of bringing hope back to a young State Member no longer reassured by our procrastination.

If we shirk this duty, we will have to answer for our actions before present and future generations, especially since, in the very recent past, our Organization, with its will and determination, was able to deal with and resolve much more complex and delicate situations.

(Mr. Sy, Senegal)

It is therefore clearly established that if we have the will we can deal with any situation.

We must be aware that international public opinion is watching us and that the results of our work will determine our Organization's credibility and the confidence placed in us by all peoples who cherish peace, freedom and justice.

Responding to the peoples' hope would both strengthen our Organization's image and support its noble mission of establishing a new world order, no longer based on the imposition of the will of one State or group of States on others, but based on the will to strengthen factors in favour of unity between all the peoples of the world, with respect for their dignity and their political, ideological and religious choices.

A country's worth lies in the wisdom and political maturity of its leaders; the worth of a people lies in its ability to transcend its ethnic and social divergences in the interests of a common future; and the worth of the international community, our international community, lies in its ability to mobilize all its members in support of principles and ideals based on a spirit of peace, justice, tolerance and solidarity.

Those are the guidelines that must govern our collective action every day. The attitude they reflect is what the martyred people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are desperately expecting of us. I sincerely hope that we shall prove equal to the task.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): Allow me to begin, Sir, by expressing my delegation's deep appreciation of the most able manner in which you have presided over the proceedings of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that you will guide with the same distinction today's difficult deliberations on the grave crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As previous speakers have stated, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina requires us to take immediate, swift, effective and long-lasting measures to bring peace to the people of that country. While regional and world organizations have remained concerned at the devastation and carnage in the newly independent State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the measures taken so far have not ended the crisis, which has taken a heavy toll of life and property, and has violated the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and threatened its very existence.

We find it impossible to comprehend Belgrade's present actions, since Yugoslavia had been for the past 40 years one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement and the most ardent in support of its noble objectives. It was our sincere hope that the peoples of the former Yugoslavia would resolve their differences in a peaceful manner in accordance with the established norms of inter-State conduct and in conformity with the United Nations Charter. Unfortunately, that has not been the case. Instead, we are today confronted with an alarming situation between independent States which constituted the former Yugoslavia.

It was also our sincere hope that international efforts aimed at bringing peace to this strife-torn region would bear fruit. Sadly, that too has not come to pass. As we meet today, the aggression against the people and

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been further intensified by Serbia and Serbian-led elements. The world has learned with horror of the many concentration camps and centres where innocent civilians have been detained in the most inhumane conditions. These acts have been committed in total defiance of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the very decisions of this august House. The grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina demands decisive international action.

The massive violation of human rights by Serbian elements has been a source of great concern and anguish to the people and Government of Pakistan. In particular, we condemn the atrocities being committed against innocent and defenceless Muslims and Croats, and the "ethnic cleansing" campaign. Indeed, the current "ethnic cleansing" campaign by Serbian elements is a crime against humanity and raises horrible memories of similar revolting activities conducted in Europe in the recent past. The massacre of civilians, the forcible interdiction of relief supplies and the continued violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a neighbouring country, which has been a model of ethnic coexistence, can neither be tolerated nor accepted by the international community.

We have been following with keen interest the negotiations on Bosnia and Herzegovina being conducted under the auspices of the European Community. We look forward to the reconvening of the conference in London towards the end of the month. The negotiating process must be accompanied by international efforts in the immediate future to put an end to the violence.

My delegation believes that the time has come for the United Nations to adopt stronger measures to ensure that all the consequences of the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina are reversed and this newly independent country

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

is allowed to exist in a tranquil regional and international environment. The military intervention and violation of human rights by the Belgrade authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be brought to an immediate end. We are equally concerned at the obstacles created by Serbian elements to prevent urgently needed humanitarian assistance from reaching the civilian population of that country. It is imperative that the United Nations send a firm message to those concerned that the international community will not tolerate the blatant use of force and let aggression go unpunished, with impunity.

We welcome the recent adoption by the Security Council of resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and that international humanitarian organizations, in particular the International Committee of the Red Cross, have unimpeded access to concentration camps and detention centres. While these long overdue measures are welcome, they are important only in alleviating hardships; they are not enough to stop aggression and undo its adverse consequences.

My delegation strongly favours Bosnia and Herzegovina's being exempted from the arms embargo imposed under Security Council resolution 713 (1991). Bosnia and Herzegovina, as an independent country and a Member of the United Nations, has an inherent right to self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. It needs to be provided the means legitimately to defend itself against blatant aggression. It is important for the Council to be consistent in its approach towards all issues that have a direct bearing on international peace and security. The situation demands that the General Assembly act with equal vigour and take measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, including the use of military force under Article 42.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

In view of those considerations, the Government of Pakistan has decided not to accept the claim of the new Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to be the successor State of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Moreover, in our view the matter of succession is a question which has to be settled by the independent States that constituted the former Yugoslavia. The new Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) must strictly adhere to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, recognize and respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and withdraw all its military and paramilitary forces from that country before it can legitimately aspire to be a member of the United Nations family.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

In conclusion, I wish to express my Government's strong support for draft resolution A/46/L.76, introduced by the representative of Turkey, and for any other measures the General Assembly may adopt with a view to vacating the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. We firmly believe that a clear and unequivocal signal from the General Assembly will convince the Serbian leadership of the futility of its present policy, and that the high principles of the Charter of this Organization will prevail.

Mr. HAJNOCZI (Austria): Austria welcomes the initiative taken by the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to call for the convening of the General Assembly to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, we were among the first to support it last week.

In a situation like the one prevailing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where basic principles of the United Nations Charter and international law continue to be flagrantly violated and where atrocities are being committed on a scale unprecedented in Europe since the creation of this Organization, this Assembly, the conscience of the international community, has an important role to play. There can be a useful division of labour among the upcoming international conference in London, the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The London conference will attempt to give new impetus to efforts aimed at a political solution of the problems of the region which formerly was the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in all their aspects. Austria welcomes the convening of this conference and will actively participate in it.

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

The Security Council has been seized of various aspects of this conflict and has taken a number of decisions, culminating thus far in Security Council resolution 757 (1992) imposing rather comprehensive sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro, resolution 770 (1992) calling on States to take all necessary measures to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and resolution 771 (1992) strongly condemning all violations of international humanitarian law, in particular the odious policy of "ethnic cleansing". Austria participated in the preparation of those decisions, spoke on them on various occasions in the Security Council and has welcomed them as steps in the right direction.

The role of this Assembly is first and foremost to lend the moral and political weight of its universal membership to a solemn restatement of the basic principles that will have to govern a future political settlement. In the light of the upcoming London conference, it is indeed timely to recall those principles and to recommit ourselves to their implementation. Those fundamental principles are: respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the need for their restoration; non-recognition of the Serbian acquisition of territory by force and of other fruits of aggression; cessation of all forms of interference from outside directed against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and cessation of support for forces fighting the legitimate Government in Sarajevo; withdrawal, or placement under the authority of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or disbanding and disarming of all those

(Mr. Hajnoczi, Austria)

forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina which are fighting the legitmate Government in Sarajevo; cessation of all violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, in particular the genocidal policy of "ethnic cleansing" practised by the Serbian side in Bosnia and Herzegovina; bringing to justice those responsible for grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and for crimes against peace and humanity; and reaffirming the right of return and compensation for the losses of those expelled and displaced from their homes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and facilitating the exercise of that right.

A just solution, a solution that really reestablishes peace and security, cannot compromise on those fundamental principles.

Although we hope that such a peaceful solution can be achieved soon, the international community will have to act in the meantime to stop the ongoing aggression and atrocities, as well as to alleviate the plight of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Austria, for its part, will continue to pursue these aims. We will continue rendering humanitarian assistance on a scale that indeed reflects the firm commitment of the Austrian Government and people.

We will not forsake Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak to the Assembly on behalf of the European Community and its member States.

Before directly addressing the subject matter of our discussion, I would just like to recall that the European Community and its member States have on numerous occasions made it clear that they have not accepted the automatic continuity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in international

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

organizations, including the United Nations. They reiterated that position in their declaration on 20 July, in which they noted that the new federation formed by Serbia and Montenegro cannot be accepted as the sole successor to the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Questions relating to Yugoslavia's membership remain under consideration in international organizations, including the United Nations. The presence of representatives of Serbia and Montenegro at United Nations meetings in general, and at this meeting today in particular, is accordingly without prejudice to the position of the European Community and its member States and to further action they may take to oppose the participation of Yugoslavia in the United Nations.

Turning to the subject-matter of today's debate, the European Community and its member States welcome the calling of this meeting of the General Assembly to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We condemn the continuing violence among the three communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we condemn attempts to gain territory by force. The greatest responsibility for the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in our view, falls on the Serbian leadership and on the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia.

The European Community and its member States recall that the international community has unequivocally condemned the policy of terror pursued by Serb leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The results of that policy can never be recognized. Conquest and mass explusion cannot bring peace, but will lead only to further conflict. The Community and its member States firmly believe that the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

only foundation upon which lasting peace can be built. The Serbs and other parties must immediately respond to the terms of successive Security Council resolutions, and implement and observe the agreements signed by all the Bosnian parties on 17 July at the European Community conference on Yugoslavia.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The Community and its member States welcome the unanimous adoption of Security Council resolution 771 (1992), which condemned all violations of international humanitarian law. That resolution requires States to collate information on violations of international humanitarian law and make this information available to the United Nations. In addition, it reaffirms that all parties to the conflict are bound to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law. It further reaffirms that persons who commit or order the commission of grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions are individually responsible in respect of such breaches.

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is descending to ever-greater depths of inhumanity. We deplore all human-rights abuses, regardless of the perpetrators. The odious practice of "ethnic cleansing" must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. We reject as inhuman and illegal any expulsion of civilian communities from their homes in order to alter the ethnic character of the area. The most recent example is the Bosnian Serbs' attempt forcibly to expel 25,000 people from Bihac.

The Community and its member States have alredy condemned the existence of detention centres, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which civilians are being detained against their will and subjected to ill-treatment. All camps must be shut immediately, and detainees allowed to return to their homes. In the meantime, it is imperative that they be open immediately to international inspection. We call on all parties to allow observers, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other humanitarian organizations, immediate, unconditional and continued access to investigate particular allegations of ill-treatment.

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

The Community and its member States welcomed the extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights that was held recently in Geneva. We strongly support the subsequent decision of the Economic and Social Council to appoint a United Nations Special Rapporteur to investigate allegations of human-rights abuses throughout the former Yugoslavia, in particular within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Rapporteur is currently making his initial visit. His preliminary report will go to the Secretary-General, and he will also report to this Assembly at its forty-seventh session. The human-rights situation in the former Yugoslavia must continue to be closely monitored by the General Assembly and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In addition, we welcome the recent decision of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to send rapporteur missions to investigate detention centres throughout the former Yugoslavia and attacks on civilians in Croatia and Bosnia.

It is vital that the international community ensure prompt and effective delivery of humanitarian aid. We pay tribute to the courage of all those involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including most particularly the members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The United Nations humanitarian agencies and the ICRC have done an outstanding job, working against the odds in increasingly dangerous circumstances. The international agencies face a formidable task. Thousands are still trapped in the conflict zones. Over a million are at risk this winter. They will continue to get our support. The Community has so far pledged 48.5 million ECU for emergency humanitarian aid since November 1991, and we are now discussing the commitment of a further 120 million ECU to that task.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The Community and its member States welcome Security Council resolution 770 (1992), which reinforces the humanitarian effort by calling upon States to take all measures necessary to facilitate, in coordination with the United Nations, the delivery of humanitarian assistance wherever needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our aim must remain to deliver aid where it is needed, including to the camps. Humanitarian assistance is getting in by land as well as by air, but much more is needed.

The suffering is a direct result of a blatant aggression and the failure of the leaders principally concerned to agree how their people should live together. Relieving the suffering, however important, is not enough. We must help - and where necessary bring pressure on - those leaders to remove the cause of that suffering. But there are limits on what any outsider can do. Ancient hatreds are not easily soothed by outsiders.

But we are conscious, as the European Community, of the extent to which Yugoslavia is a European problem. These areas of conflict border with two member States of the European Community; the fleeing refugees are arriving in several Member States. There are risks of the fighting spreading to engulf the wider Balkan region. The European Community, therefore, carries a particular responsibility.

Together with the United Nations, we are launching the international conference, which will open in London this week, on 26 August. The aim must be to intensify and broaden international pressure on the parties to work wholeheartedly for a political settlement. It will be important to build on the firm foundation already established by Lord Carrington's excellent work.

Brokering agreements entails convincing highly distrustful people that

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

their interests will be best served by compromise. There are no guarantees that our efforts will succeed in establishing a lasting peace in the region, but we must take maximum advantage of every channel available.

The London conference in particular must be followed up actively. The situation in Bosnia is among the most urgent facing that conference. With the help of a task group to be established by it, the three main communities need now to agree on a new constitution which enables them to live peacefully together within agreed frontiers. The task group must also negotiate political conditions to allow humanitarian activities to be undertaken safely, and it must work to establish a durable cease-fire. We urge all parties immediately and without preconditions to resume negotiations on future constitutional arrangements within the framework of the conference. All parties involved must participate in these negotiations with a genuine will to secure peace, and with respect for the interests of the other parties.

The London conference will also address broader problems of the former Yugoslavia, particularly those concerning various minorities, including notably in Kosovo; the succession of States after the dissolution of the old Yugoslavia; and economic relations. We hope that a steering committee will be set up to ensure that our efforts are coherent and taken forward urgently. The international community must be ready to join with the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina in a major reconstruction programme to cope with humanitarian needs and to restore economic activity.

We shall also want to ensure that maximum pressure is brought to bear on the warring parties. There is already evidence that the sanctions imposed by Security Council resolution 757 (1992) are biting. We wish to remind all

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

States of their obligations under this resolution. The Community and its member States are determined to enforce sanctions effectively, and if necessary we shall propose further measures that need to be taken.

The Community and its member States hope that the London conference will endorse a series of basic principles setting the way ahead: the fighting and the practice of "ethnic cleansing" must stop; human rights must be respected; the rights of minorities must be guaranteed; the fundamental principles that frontiers cannot be changed by force must be established; sanctions must be maintained, strictly respected and closely monitored; and, perhaps most importantly, all parties must engage actively in negotiations to resolve their differences.

It is the fervent hope of the European Community and its member States that this meeting of the General Assembly, and the resolution which we will adopt, will serve as a strong encouragement to the international conference opening in London in two days' time. It is vital that the voice of the international community as a whole be heard loud and clear by all the parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They must be brought to realize that a solution will only be found through peaceful means; it will not be found on the battlefield.

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): For over a year now the world has been witnessing Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, but has failed to show sufficient resoluteness to stop this anachronistic war aimed at the conquering of territories of neighbouring States. The timid response of the international community vis-à-vis the unprecedented human suffering of the victims of the "ethnic cleansing", the destruction of towns and the annihilation of villages is not only a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, but also a dangerous precedent that threatens international peace and security.

We cannot allow the aggressor to enjoy the fruits of aggression. If we did, the war would spread across the Balkans, with irreversible consequences for the newborn democracies of Central and Eastern Europe. This plenary meeting of the General Assembly is the proper occasion for all of us not only to shoulder the responsibility for the kind of human suffering and tragedy that has not been witnessed in Europe for almost half a century, but also to protect and secure the future of Europe and the new post-cold-war world order.

I should like to state that the Croatian Government appreciates and commends the efforts of the Secretary-General, the Security Council, the General Assembly and United Nations agencies in restoring the peace within the sovereign borders of the Republic of Croatia. We are strongly committed to full cooperation with the United Nations Protection Force in Croatia, and we are ready to offer all the necessary assistance for similar efforts to restore the peace and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Croatia was among the first countries to recognize the independence and

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Furthermore, Croatia has reached agreement with the Bosnian Government to establish full diplomatic relations and to coordinate political, diplomatic and military efforts to suppress Serbian aggression, while at the same time exercising the right of individual and collective self-defence. Elements of the Croatian army are present in some border areas of Bosnia, in accordance with this defence agreement, and units of the Croatian Defence Council are already a part of the Bosnia defence structure.

The common history of our two countries and our geopolitical interdependence teaches us to seek everlasting friendly relations between the two countries and a constitutional solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina that would satisfy Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

Croatia bears the heaviest burden of the war against Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbian aggressor relentlessly continues to launch deadly attacks on Croatia from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time, Croatia is being swamped by the tide of hundreds of thousands of refugees - desperate Muslims and Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina who are running for their lives and who are guilty only of their ethnic or religious origin. Burdened with more than 270,000 of our own refugees and with a crippled economy, Croatia is not able to handle this enormous humanitarian problem alone, especially on the eve of winter. Therefore, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina must be allowed to acquire disaster-area status, in order that wide international aid can be mobilized and that the unconditional and honourable repatriation of the refugees to their homes, as well as reparation for their losses, can be facilitated.

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

We find it unacceptable that a Serbian representative can address the General Assembly while Serbian forces continue to commit atrocities and war crimes all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. The flag of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is still being flown at the United Nations, although that country has ceased to exist. There is no precedent for this.

We have to formalize the complete international isolation of Serbia and Montenegro - isolation that is vividly clear at this meeting also - into Security Council and General Assembly resolutions providing that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be expelled from United Nations membership and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be prevented from succeeding it and taking its seat in the United Nations. This new entity must undergo the same procedure and be held to the same international standards as all United Nations Members.

The Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina must be stopped immediately. We are witnessing the vicious atrocities brought about by this horrible war. There are people on all sides to be blamed for war crimes. But it is the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing" which bears the overwhelming responsibility for the war and the war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia. One cannot judge the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere in the area of former Yugoslavia without taking into account the real roots and origin of Serbian aggression - that is, the revival of the fascist ideology of "Blut und Boden", the unacceptable doctrine that holds that all the Serbs must live in one State, even at the cost of the mass deportation of millions of civilians of non-Serbian origin, even at the cost of a scorched-earth policy and the erection of concentration camps. Any attempt to balance the responsibility for the war between the aggressor and the victim is simply an excuse for doing nothing.

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

If the so-called Yugoslav crisis is really to be resolved, we have to look at the very core of the problem and put a decisive end to the aggressive regime in Belgrade. The world community has the obligation to initiate international legal procedures and inquiries, and ultimately to punish the individuals who have committed war crimes. But it is of the utmost importance that the Serbian political and military clique, which has used war atrocities as a tool in reshaping the borders of Great Serbia, is brought to international justice.

The peace and full sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina can be restored either by a surgical military intervention or by lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, the victims of the aggression, or by a combination of both. Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a sovereign country, has the right to self-defence, as embodied in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is our opinion that the next step by the international community should be the establishment of a temporary but comprehensive international trusteeship over Bosnia and Herzegovina. This would create conditions for constitutional negotiations between the three constituent nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding regional autonomy, parity of the central government, return of the refugees, confidence-building, and reconstruction of the country.

The scale of human suffering in the besieged towns and the concentration camps casts a dark shadow over the conscience of all of us. We must finally face this tragedy with the proper resoluteness and responsibility. In Bosnia

(Mr. Nobilo, Croatia)

and Herzegovina as well as in Croatia we are defending not only a better and prosperous future for our children but all the principles for which this Organization stands.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation)(interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation shares the concern and alarm of the world community over the tragic fratricidal war that has been going on in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We also share its concern that the efforts to put an end to the bloodshed in that country and establish a basis for a peaceful settlement have not yet produced the desired results. Military action in the country continues. Towns and villages are being destroyed and completely innocent people are dying. Reports have come in of gross, massive violations of human rights, including the illegal detention of people in camps and the mistreatment of civilians. As the result of the ignominious practice of "ethnic cleansing", which has been rightly condemned by the Security Council, hundreds of thousands of people have become refugees with no shelter or means of survival.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Russia decisively advocates the cessation of all such practices and the adoption of necessary, strict measures with regard to those who are violating international humanitarian law. The suffering of the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina who have been denied food and medication makes it essential to secure the delivery of humanitarian assistance and to use all necessary measures, as provided in Security Council resolution 770 (1992).

However, the main thing is that it is essential, as soon as possible, to achieve a cessation of the military conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is fraught with danger for international peace and security in the region. Since the very beginning of the Bosnian crisis, the Russian Federation has persistently advocated a peaceful political solution through negotiation, based on a cease-fire, the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and equal rights for all the peoples inhabiting that Republic. From the rostrum of the General Assembly we once again emphasize that no matter how complicated the conflict may be, it can only be resolved through negotiation, consolidated, of course, by the good will and the constructive position of the parties to the conflict and by their recognition of the legitimate rights and interests of the other parties.

Russia's commitment precisely to this solution of the Bosnian problem was reflected in statements of the Govermnment and the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation and in the Russian delegation's active participation in the elaboration of the Security Council's resolutions aimed at normalizing the situation in that country and other zones of the Yugoslavian conflict. On the basis of our policy of seeking a prompt political settlement of the Yugoslavian crisis and in particular a solution to the Bosnian problem, we confirm Russia's readiness to support international actions intended to achieve that objective. In Russia, we have been monitoring most closely the

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

position of all parties in the Yugoslavian conflict and we welcome any manifestations of sobering on the part of the parties to the conflict as well as initiatives aimed at halting the conflict.

The letter from Prime Minister Panic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General was noted with satisfaction in Moscow. The letter clearly stated the position of recognition of the inter-Republic boundaries of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as international, the recognition of the existing boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the non-existence of territorial claims on Croatia and the intention to prosecute any citizen of the Federal Republic of Yugosalavia found to be involved in the practice of "ethnic cleansing". This statement can be regarded as an important step towards the de-escalation of the conflict.

We attach importance to that part of Mr. Panic's statement about the inadmissibility of providing military assistance to the parties involved in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and his acceptance of the deployment of international forces on that Republic's border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We hope that the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will take practical steps in order to implement those initiatives and that the other parties to the conflict will respond most seriously to those initiatives in order to achieve agreements without delay on the cessation of the bloodshed and the establishment of peace. In this connection we appeal to all parties to the conflict to take advantage of this new opportunity for achieving peace which is provided by the forthcoming London conference.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Russia, for its part, will continue to take a most active part in international efforts to achieve the prompt peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Mr. REDZUAN (Malaysia): My delegation would like to join others before us in expressing our deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for convening this resumed session of the General Assembly to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A few weeks ago a number of countries members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) wrote to the President of the Security Council requesting an emergency meeting of the Council, with formal debate, to consider the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and take appropriate action under Chapter VII of the Charter to restore peace and stability to the region. Unfortunately, the Council has yet to respond to that request, despite the continuing grave and deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That being the case, the members of the OIC, for the time being, have had to resort to asking for this resumed session of the General Assembly.

We very much regret the lack of response on the part of the Security Council to the appeals made by member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, but it is our fervent hope that the debate here in the resumed session of the General Assembly will further underline the seriousness of the conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that the Members of the United Nations will wish to see resolute action by the Organization within the framework of the system of collective security.

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

In joining the other members of the OIC in asking for this resumed session of the General Assembly, our intention is to bring to the attention of this world body, if they are not yet clear to some, the real issues involved in the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina and why the United Nations must act in a clear and decisive manner to restore peace and stability to the region, using the powers given to it by the Charter.

For several months now, the world has been witnessing much killing and destruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The United Nations and the European Community have engaged in efforts to bring peace and relief to the people of the country. However, many of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and agreements on cease-fires have been ignored. The sanctions applied by the Security Council have not had their effect, but instead they have denied Bosnia and Herzegovina its inherent right to self-defence under Article 51 of the Charter. The European peace efforts have not made any progress; on the contrary, there are reasons to be concerned that the London conference only seeks a capitulation on the part of the democratically elected Government of Bosnia, led by President Alija Izebegovic, to appease the Serbs.

The recent horrific events concerning atrocities committed in the concentration camps and through the Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing", in addition to the news of daily indiscriminate bombardments of civilian population centres in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have raised a public outcry in various parts of the world. All this persuaded the Security Council to adopt resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) on 13 August 1992.

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

Like the other members of the international community, Malaysia welcomes the latest actions of the Council; but, regrettably, those actions are far from enough, as the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina has taken a turn for the worst. What is at issue now is not just the danger of mass starvation, relief supplies reaching those under seige, or access to the concentration camps, which the two recent resolutions are meant to address, but the wanton actrocities against and killings of Bosnian Muslims and Catholics by the Serbs, as well as the dismemberment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a nation.

Malaysia is convinced that the time has come for the United Nations to address the problem of Bosnia and Herzegovina in its entirety. We must steer clear of attempts at blurring the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a mere civil or tribal war. We must also face the fact that it is not just a humanitarian situation that the United Nations has to address. We must reject the naive belief that a policy of appeasement towards the Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina would satisfy their quest for a greater Serbia involving the acquisition of territory by force and more acts of "ethnic cleansing" in other independent nations former component parts of the former Yugoslavia. We must also be prepared to deal with the painful truth that Yugoslavia, a peace-loving nation and one of the esteemed leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement, is no more, and that Serbia-Montenegro is not only a pretender but also an aggressor.

In the view of my delegation, there are at least four basic reasons why the United Nations should now undertake collective measures, including those under Article 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter, to address the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not just a civil war of the Serbs against the Bosnian Muslims and Croatian Catholics, but it is part of a design for the creation of a greater Serbia, and no matter how well disguised it involves armed intervention and aggression by Serbia-Montenegro, a threat against international peace and security. We have a situation where the victim - an independent nation with its own democratically elected Government which has no organized defence force of its own and is denied its inherent right to self-defence under the Charter of the United Nations - has to face Serbian forces trained and equipped to take on the Red Army of the cold war. Clearly, in this situation it is the responsibility of the United Nations to lift the arms embargo and to assist the democratically elected Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina to restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The whole credibility of the United Nations and the concept of collective security now rests on the willingness and ability of the Organization to uphold the rule of law, in particular guaranteeing the sovereignty of a Member State.

The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, cannot choose where and when to exercise collective enforcement measures if a situation clearly calls for them. The United Nations cannot fail in the responsibility given to it under the Charter. What is most frightening is when those who have the special responsibility assigned to them under the Charter in the maintenance of international peace and security choose not to act because the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is said to be too difficult, the country is mountainous, and the Serbs are well armed. Instead, the Council opts to be neutral, which is really taking the easy way out. But in this case, being neutral is both immoral and unjust, as well as failing in its responsibility under the Charter. It is also tantamount to a policy of appeasement towards

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

the aggressors and ignoring the just cause of the weak and suffering people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Already the Serbs, through their acts of aggression, "ethnic cleansing" and other illegal activities, have acquired more than 70 per cent of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now the Serbs are ready for peace on their own terms, as they seek to legitimize their land-grab by persuading the initiators of the London conference to accept the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina into ethnicity-based cantons. At a time when apartheid is being dismantled in South Africa, it is indeed strange that certain countries in Europe, in looking for a quick and easy fix, are said to be ready to support at the forthcoming London conference the Serbian proposal to create ethnicity-based cantons, a truly revolting racist concept in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Secondly, the United Nations cannot possibly be seen to take a feeble and tentative stand on the very serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law with regard to atrocities committed by the Serbs against innocent Bosnian Muslims and Catholics in the towns, villages, and concentration camps. The Serbian policy of "ethnic cleansing" is most despicable; and the policy together with other forms of atrocities, including the Serbian concentration camps, are crimes against humanity, and the United Nations is duty bound to act firmly.

The United Nations and other international bodies, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, must be careful not to undertake their relief efforts in a way that would only assist the Serbian policy of ethnic cleansing. For us in the OIC, it is just not enough for the United Nations, through the Security Council, to demand access to the concentration camps. Instead, the United Nations has an obligation to use all means

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

necessary to put an end to all atrocities taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina and undertake measure that would bring to justice those individuals and leaders responsible for war crimes in accordance with the relevant provisions of international law, including the international genocide Convention.

Thirdly, the United Nations through the Security Council should not merely address the plight of the Bosnian population under seige and daily bombardments by the Serbs through the United Nations and other relief efforts. The time has now come for the United Nations not only to address the symptoms of the disease but also to get down to the root causes, among others, by putting an end to the seige and bombardments of many Bosnian civilian centres by the Serbs. All heavy weapons must be surrendered immediately to the United Nations peace-keepers, followed by a process to ensure the withdrawal of units of the Yugoslav National Army and the disarming of the rebel forces.

Fourthly, the United Nations must not permit any peace process that has any resemblance to a policy of appeasement towards the aggressors by giving legitimacy to the so-called policy of cantonment, involving large areas of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina that have been acquired by the Serbs through their acts of aggression, "ethnic cleansing", and other illegal actions. It is delusory and dangerous on the part of the United Nations to think that Serbian armed intervention and aggression would stop at Bosnia and Herzegovina. Any form of endorsement of the Serbian land-grab through the use of force and other illegal actions would only encourage their quest for a greater Serbia, and this could well lead to an even wider conflagration in the Balkans, further threatening international peace and security.

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whether we like it or not, is becoming a real test-case for the United Nations and its concept of collective security. The sucess of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security, within the framework of collective security, is dependent on the harmonious relationship between the general membership of the Organization as represented in this body, the General Assembly, and the Security Council. We cannot afford to have a situation, especially at the dawn of a new post-cold war order, in which so much is expected of the United Nations but in which the views of the general membership are ignored by the Council.

We also cannot afford to have a situation in which a process of aggression and dismemberment of an independent State, a Member of the United Nations, is regarded as not serious enough to warrant collective enforcement measures simply because the situation does not serve the interest and expedience of certain prominent members of the Security Council. Only some months ago at the historic summit meeting of the Security Council, a presidential statement was issued in which members of the Council reaffirmed their commitment to the collective security system of the Charter to deal with threats to peace and to reverse threats of aggression. Yet today, considering that the Council cannot even agree to a formal debate to address the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that commitment stands for nothing.

(Mr. Redzuan, Malaysia)

The Secretary-General in his report "An Agenda for Peace", produced in response to the request made by the same summit meeting of the Council, was so right when he said:

> "The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument." (A/47/277, para. 82)

In conclusion, my delegation would like to express its sincere hope that as a result of the deliberations at this resumed session of the General Assembly and the adoption of a resolution, which Malaysia has co-sponsored, urging the Security Council to consider, on an urgent basis, taking further appropriate measures as provided in Chapter VII of the Charter to put an end to the fighting and restore the unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, members of the Council will respect the will of the general membership and act without further hesitancy and delay.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Arabic): I wish to inform representatives that a draft resolution (A/46/L.76) on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina is being distributed in the Assembly Hall.

Ms. WILLBERG (New Zealand): Just over six months ago during this session we paid tribute to the wisdom, foresight and humanity of the founders of this Organization, and to the steps taken under its auspices to adopt legally binding international covenants to protect the most basic of human rights. We recalled the destruction and the tragedy of the Second World War, which provided the background for the determination of the United Nations to protect succeeding generations from those same scourges.

(Ms. Willberg, New Zealand)

New Zealand's population includes communities whose parents came to the southern hemisphere to escape the devastation of the last European war. Some came from Yugoslavia. So it is with a special sense of tragedy that we speak today to add our voice to the expressions of horror from the international community at the re-emergence, in this generation, of this anguish in the territories of the former Yugoslavia.

There are three compelling and urgent requirements, in my Government's view: to bring the conflict and the atrocities to an end; to provide protection against human rights abuses and to deal effectively with abuses that have occurred; and to provide humanitarian aid.

New Zealand fully endorses the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, as well as the draft resolution which the Assembly will consider, which calls upon all parties to the conflict immediately to cease fighting and to enter into negotiations in line with the principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law. We urge the parties to the conflict to hold to negotiated cease-fires and to agree as a matter of priority to disband and disarm.

As a small country, we in New Zealand deeply sympathize with the plight of the citizens of Bosnia. In April this year New Zealand recognized the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and welcomed it to the community of nations. We wholeheartedly support the call in the draft resolution to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and the strong reaffirmation of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force.

In order to identify and expose the perpetrators of human rights abuses New Zealand sponsored the resolution of the Human Rights Commission, appointing a Special Rapporteur. There are reports of widespread violations

(Ms. Willberg, New Zealand)

of the most fundamental principles of humanitarian law and human rights, including those most basic internationally accepted rules of conduct regarding the treatment both of combatants and non-combatants. Killings, torture, disappearances, detention, deliberate attacks on civilians, hostage-taking, impediments to the delivery of humanitarian assistance and wanton destruction of property expand the appalling catalogue.

We are horrified by the concept of "ethnic cleansing", the current terminology for systematic expulsion, forcible relocation, assassinations and other forms of persecution aimed at people for no other reason than their national or ethnic origin or their religious belief - so chillingly reminiscent of the darkest excesses of the Second World War. The international community must express its total abhorrence at this unspeakable practice and its determination to expose those responsible and to hold them to account for their deeds. In that regard, we demand compliance with Security Council resolution 771 (1992).

New Zealand also strongly supports the objective of Security Council resolution 770 (1992). Through our contributions of personnel to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and by grants to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations Children's Fund, we have sought, as responsible Members of this Organization, to contribute to international efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to the people - and particularly the children - who are the innocent victims of this outrageous behaviour. The draft resolution rightly calls on States to support efforts to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance. In that regard there is an absolute need that humanitarian personnel and those who monitor, observe and provide cover for that relief be fully protected, through strict

(Ms. Willberg, New Zealand)

observance of the international conventions. UNPROFOR and other agencies, such as the ICRC, have already sustained unacceptable injuries and losses.

New Zealand also firmly advocates the maintenance of sanctions, invoked by this Organization through Security Council resolution 713 (1991), to limit the economic capability of aggressors in this conflict. We call on all members of the Organization to ensure that these sanctions are given full effect.

We hope the Assembly will send a clear message of support to the forthcoming London conference and to the European Community and other international bodies that have been searching for the means to effect a negotiated solution. We welcome these efforts.

Mr. GRIFFIN (Australia): Australia welcomes the convening of this resumed session to debate the grave situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From the outset Australia has supported the United Nations involvement in seeking a peaceful resolution to the conflict and the role which the United Nations has played in supporting the European Community's peace efforts.

The Australian Government deplores the continued fighting and bloodshed in the region of the former Yugoslavia, and in particular in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The widening cycle of vicious and irresponsible violence makes it more urgent than ever for the international community and the principal parties to the fighting to redouble their efforts to find a political resolution to the tragic conflict.

At this point Australia would note for the record its view, as expressed in our letter to the Secretary-General of 5 May 1992 (A/46/907), that the participation of representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in this session is without prejudice to the eventual resolution of the question of the status of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Griffin, Australia)

Australia strongly supports the role the United Nations has in maintaining international peace and security. The international community, through the United Nations, must make its position clear, conscious of the threat which this conflict poses to stability in Europe and to international peace and security generally.

The conflict must not be allowed to spread to other areas of tension bordering the current conflict. This session gives an opportunity for demonstrating the determination of the United Nations to act for peace. It is salutary to recall as this century draws to a close that it opened with a conflagration resulting from failure to resolve tensions and conflict in the Balkans.

The Australian Government has associated itself fully and explicitly with the Security Council's condemnation of the violence through the adoption of a number of strong resolutions. These have sent a clear message to the warring parties, and in particular to the Serbian forces, which have been held to bear the principal responsibility for the bloodshed and human-rights abuses. It is a message which must be heard and respected.

Most recently, the world has witnessed reports of widespread violations of the most fundamental principles of humanitarian law and human rights, including the most basic internationally accepted rules of humanitarian conduct regarding the treatment of both combatants and non-combatants. The Australian Government and people have been shocked and distressed by these reports, which catalogue a systematic policy of brutality, arbitrary execution, hostage taking, detention in inhumane conditions and confiscation of property directed against Croats, Muslims and Serbs alike.

(Mr. Griffin, Australia)

The inhumanity and brutality which have arisen in this conflict are no more vividly expressed than in the abhorrent and chilling policy of so-called ethnic cleansing. This must end. The Australian Government strongly supported the resolution adopted by the extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights condemning such abuses, and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to investigate the human-rights situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Given the severe constraints under which it is operating, the United Nations response to this tragic situation to date has been commendable. The United Nations Protection Force has been fully deployed in Croatia and has been working tirelessly and courageously to secure Sarajevo airport for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to those trapped in the besieged city and surrounding areas. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has been actively coordinating humanitarian relief efforts to those civilians affected by the conflict.

The international community is determined to end this terrible war, and Security Council resolutions 770 (1992) and 771 (1992) represent a further stage of that determination. Australia gives its full backing to the efforts of the United Nations in this regard.

The Australian Government and people appeal to all the parties to heed the Security Council's calls immediately to end the fighting throughout the former Yugoslavia. Surely, all parties should now realize that they must sit down at the negotiating table and reach a political settlement. The international community insists on it; common sense and common decency demand it.

(Mr. Griffin, Australia)

Australia strongly encourages the principal parties to seize the opportunity offered by the forthcoming European Community conference on Yugoslavia, to be held in London in just two days' time, from 26 to 28 August, and to reach a political settlement which will see an end to the fighting and senseless bloodshed and human suffering. Even burdened with the legacy of death and destruction that the people of Bosnia and other regions of the former Yugoslavia have endured to date, it is not too late for dialogue aimed at finding a just and durable resolution of the tragedy. Dialogue provides the only possibility for such a resolution.

Australia supports the aims of the draft resolution proposed by the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference condemning the violence in the conflict and the violations of human rights. Australia calls on all Member States to give their full support to international efforts to secure a resolution of the conflict.

Mr. KIRSCH (Canada) (interpretation from French): Canada welcomes this General Assembly debate on Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the request of the States members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in the light of the dangerous nature of the situation. It is important for the General Assembly to show unity in promoting peace. The Assembly must make it very clear that the use of force to settle disputes, and the violation of international frontiers and of the rights of individuals are intolerable and cannot and must not be permitted.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the international community, war continues in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Violations of human rights and the deaths of innocent people have now reached horrendous proportions. But this inexcusable war also threatens serious escalation, and poses a grave threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Kirsch, Canada)

Canada has supported the efforts of the international community and the Security Council in a number of ways, in particular through its involvement in the peace-keeping operation set up in the region, through its contribution to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo, and through its involvement in the efforts of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Community.

Canada unreservedly supported Security Council resolution 771 (1992) concerning violations of international humanitarian law. We are aghast at the flagrant violations of the fundamental principles of tolerance and respect for human rights in the former Yugoslavia in open disregard of international law. Since these heinous atrocities are being committed for nationalist, ethnic and other reasons, they remind us of the darkest days of our history. We totally reject the atrocities being perpetrated in the name of the abominable practice of "ethnic cleansing", and we ask that those responsible for these actions and numerous other violations of international law be called to account.

Canada also supported the convening of the extraordinary session of the Commission on Human Rights, on Yugoslavia. It is vital for the Special Rapporteur to have access to all the detention camps. We expect his preliminary report before 28 August.

We insist too that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) be immediately granted free, permanent and full access to all detention camps and other detention facilities in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

It is tragic to witness a situation where the intended recipients of humanitarian assistance and those reponsible for delivering that assistance are themselves under constant attack, and where snipers, mines and mortars join in the sordid work of adding to the piles of corpses. Canada thus

(Mr. Kirsch, Canada)

supported the adoption of Security Council resolution 770 (1992) authorizing the use of all necessary means to deliver humanitarian assistance. We continue to hope that it will be possible to reach all those who need assistance without resorting to armed force. If it is to achieve its purpose, that resolution must give rise to concrete commitments by Member States. Canada, once again, is prepared to do its part in this endeavour.

Moreover, it seems essential to us that strict enforcement of the United Nations embargo and sanctions be guaranteed. We know that not all Governments devote the same energy to see to it that these sanctions are enforced. But all Governments have the same obligation to the international community, and we urge the Security Council to take the measures necessary to give practical effect to all sanctions already adopted.

(Mr. Kirsch, Canada)

The various measures that I mentioned have not put an end to the fighting. The international community must show even greater determination in order to prevent escalation of the conflict. The end purpose of its intervention is to find a peaceful, negotiated political solution to that conflict.

The London Conference provides, in the short term, the best chance of a political settlement. The parties must enter into negotiations in order to achieve an equitable settlement of the dispute. This is the primary message that the resolution we shall adopt must convey to all the parties.

The primary responsibility for this conflict lies with the people and the Government of the former Yugoslavia, and it is clear in this regard that Serbia, given its history, has a particular duty to use its influence to put an end to the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We are aware that arriving at such an agreement will be difficult and may take some time. It is therefore essential that a cease-fire be established and sustained throughout the whole of the territory in order to put an end to the fighting, the killing and the suffering and in order to create a more favorable climate for negotiation.

We must also emphasize that implementing a comprehensive agreement on the whole of the territory of the former Yugoslavia could require substantial support from the international community, and all the parties must be aware that they can count on such support.

The conflict in the former Yugoslavia is indeed a tragedy. It leads us to wonder whether we were right to hope for an era of peace and fraternity following the cold war. The international community must do its very best to prevent the use of force and violence and to uphold the ideals and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): This resumed session of the General Assembly affords a unique opportunity for the community of nations to call in the strongest terms for an end to the tragedy now being experienced by the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Once again, in this turbulent century, intolerance, injustice and brutality are coming to the surface. Once again, we are faced with dreams of ethnic purity and the abhorrent practice of concentration camps. Once again, regrettably, the civilized conscience of humankind is shamefully slow and ineffective in reacting to the speed of events whose cost in human terms is continually increasing.

The initiative of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in convening this meeting of this supreme world forum has met with the strong support of the Government of Mexico. We agree with the underlying objective of submitting for consideration by the General Assembly what is taking place in a Member State. It is the duty of this body to respond to a situation characterized by violation of humanitarian law and the fundamental freedoms of the population and by the most extensive uprooting of human beings in Europe in the second half of this century.

The holding of this session must send a clear and unequivocal message to the Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina that their actions constitute an inadmissible violation of the most fundamental rights and principles of human coexistence, and that under no circumstances can this be tolerated or endorsed. It must also convey a strong call to the Croatian forces to renounce all territorial ambitions. All the parties must understand that the time has come to halt this barbarism and abandon their historical claims, ancestral rivalries and the mistrust born of the present conflict. The

(Mr. Montaño, Mexico)

withdrawal of foreign troops must take place immediately or under the authority of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The process of effective disarmament under international supervision must be initiated at the earliest possible juncture.

We cannot but regret these events, both because of their nature and because they are taking place in a region that in recent decades has been a unique example of multi-ethnic coexistence. Sarajevo, Goradze, Mostar and the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in general were considered as a cultural and ethnic crucible in a region which in recent centuries has witnessed the rise and fall of various forms of domination, from empires to authoritarian regimes. The barbarism afflicting this nation must be viewed as a tragedy of mankind, demonstrating as it does that we have not yet learned the value of coexistence and mutual respect.

Sarajevo is and has been an essential reference point for the twentieth century. The troubled course of modern history began in that city with the events that were unleashed in 1914. Today, it has once again become a symbol of the end of an era and the possible emergence of a new order. The profile of international coexistence will depend largely on our response to this nation.

The Assembly must generate the political impetus that will enable negotiation and wise counsel to bring about the speediest possible end to the hostilities and the violations of human rights. We hope the peace talks that are to take place in London will be a step towards the resolution of the conflict. In this connection, we cannot allow our Organization to be an instrument for the attainment of objectives that are contrary to the spirit of the Charter and to the fundamental dignity of the States represented here.

(Mr. Montaño, Mexico)

Accordingly, we believe that the negotiating mechanism that is to be initiated in London must avoid the dismemberment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's territorial integrity into "ethnically cleansed" units.

The opposition encountered and the unfortunate losses sustained by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) demonstrate how difficult it may be to contain the merciless and apparently uncontrollable violence that is emerging as a characteristic of the new world order. But the United Nations Force has also proved to be a source of hope for a population whose faith had certainly been destroyed by the brutality to which it had been subjected. We wish to place on record our recognition of the bravery of the members of UNPROFOR and of the role the Force has played in alleviating, to the extent possible, the human tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is obvious, nevertheless, that firmer measures need to be taken. The international community must state in unequivocal terms that it will not tolerate the continuation of the violence, still less the flagrant violations of international and humanitarian law. We must take prompt action to relieve the siege that is atrophying and strangling a number of towns and could become infinitely more severe if it extends into the winter. Acting within the terms clearly defined by the terms of the Charter of our Organization, the various organs of which it is composed must take coordinated action in broad exercise of their respective mandates to ensure the provision of humanitarian assistance through the relevant international agencies.

This forum also has a duty to take action to put an end to the violations of human rights. We welcome the decision of the Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur, and we look forward to the opportunity of considering the report he submits.

(Mr. Montaño, Mexico)

We must make it clear that the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and national unity of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be unconditionally respected. Under no circumstances must the acquisition of territory by force be recognized. Still less can we accept attempts to create regions on the basis of the abhorrent criterion of "ethnic cleansing". The Assembly must call unambiguously for an immediate end to the massive displacement of that Republic's population and an immediate start on the unconditional repatriation of the refugees and deportees, accompanied by recognition of their right to reparations for the damage sustained.

The parties must understand that their intolerant and violent actions will not meet with support abroad. No doubt must be left that, on the contrary, those responsible for the atrocities committed against the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly the Muslims, will encounter the strongest possible response from the community of nations. In this connection, we believe that the arms embargo must be strictly respected by the community of nations.

The General Assembly must respond in a manner commensurate with the magnitude of the events, taking firm and effective action in conformity with its mandate under the Charter of the United Nations. It is our hope that the will that has been shown to hold this debate and adopt a resolution on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina will afford an opportunity to confirm the commitment to building solid foundations for a new order of civilized coexistence among and within all nations.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.